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LANGUAGE AND VOCABULARY

The last Caribs in Dominica to speak the native Indian idiom as their mother tongue died some 20 to 25 years ago. But even 60 years ago, at the time of Ober's first visit, the language was employed only by a small minority of older men and women. The urge for economic contacts with the Creole-negro population surrounding them combined, in all probability, with the priests' disapproval of continued isolation of a flock whose conversion was henceforth secure, ended in the adoption of that lingua franca of the West Indies, Creole patois. Those Caribs who today remember some smattering of their fathers' and mothers' tongue regard such knowledge rather in the light of a joke.

Whether the proverbial distinction between the men's and the women's languages persisted to the end is hard to say, but it is certain that some of the words given below belong to the Carib, and others—the majority—to the Arawak stock of languages. Creole patois itself is rich in the debris of many tongues and it is to be hoped that some philologist will soon undertake its excavation.

The following vocabulary is neither exhaustive of living linguistic vestiges nor is the whole of it necessarily known to any one person now living in the Reserve. My chief informants were: Jimmy (Dorder) Benjamin of Bataka and his brother, Jean Noël (now dead), "Fanfan" and Ma' Bernard of St. Cyr, Lucien of Waïpina, Ma' Henri and her sister Ma' Jauney of Bataka, and Choline and Chief Jolly John of Ste. Marie, Salybia. The latter furnished me with the song and some of the words, but was especially helpful in acting as my host, guide, and sponsor in the Reserve.

The words have been put down as they were given me—in their final form only after hearing them repeated many times by different people. Other vocabularies (in particular that of Father Raymond Breton, published 1665) have been consulted only as a check to word meaning and form. The spelling, as with all unwritten idioms, has been rather a problem. Breton wrote Carib like French, but at the best, and apart from the fact that French pronunciation has changed since his time, such a method is clumsy. I very much regret not having had a recording apparatus, but have done my best with the means at my disposal. In general, and taking the following modifications into account, the vowels have been given their Latin values, while the consonants are as in English. Stress is denoted by the apostrophe, as in supplémen'tary.

a, as in father; au, as in how; ão, as in Portuguese "não".
é, an indefinite vowel sound in mother; becomes nasal when final.
è, as "ai" in French; è, as in eat.
e, as in wet; ẽ, as em (final) in Portuguese.
ë, as in French, ade.

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i, as in machine; í, as in the Portuguese word "fim".
e, as in French "poule"; é, as "um" in Portuguese.
o, as in not in closed, as (Spanish) no in open syllables.
ó, as "on" in French.
au, eu, ai (but not ai, ay) are diaylliable. Ai, ay, as in fly.
g, always soft, is intermediate between the s sound in seen and sheen, as in the name of the god Siva; ch as in machine.
hw, more strongly aspirated than English wh; h and r also aspirated when followed by h; whereas gh and kh are soft though distinct gutturals.
p, k, and t often become confused with b, g, and d, as do l with r, g with ch, long o with u.
ph represents a more explosive sound than that of English f, with something like the trace of a p.
ui, ue, ua (except where there is a stress division, as in u'a) are the same sounds as wi, we, wa, and are pronounced as in wit, wet, wax, etc.

Alternative versions of the Carib are given in brackets.

Where the English equivalent for a Carib word is unknown its patois equivalent is given in parentheses.

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(C) denotes a word still in local patois usage.
(M) denotes a word of the men's language.
(F) denotes a word of the women's language.

ya'wahu, ya'wa —bush god or spirit.
ma'pinaiya —devil.
kaniphu'ni —carib.
ma'kuru —negro.
ka'kuru —negro-indian mestizo (from Span. cabra?).
ankili'ni —white (Englishman: from Span. Ingles).
kuí'ya, (kuí'yu) —sun (M).
ka'yi —sun (F).
ou'ni —moon.
hí'(y?)ouni —star.
waruku'ni —star.
wa'ka —fire.
ta'ni —water.
ka'ya —rain (F).
kawe'ku —rain (M).
kuru'ka —sea, ocean.
kuru'kali —hurricane (the trade wind).
kwai'yu kuru' —storm.

The so-called inseparable pronominal prefixes are, for the men's and for the women's languages respectively:

n-, and l- —my; w-, or k- —our.
h-(y), and a- —thy; kui- —your.
l- —his
y- —her; ni- —their. Thus:

nuku'ni —my husband (lit. head, leader).
nia'ni —my wife.
tha'nani (M) —my (man speaking) sister's husband.
huku'gili (F) —thy father.
huku'guru (F) —thy mother.
pi'ku ka'ni —thy elder brother.
lawa'nuru —his father-in-law.

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192 Emont(a)' —his mother-in-law.
emmaly4', (emboly4', (emblobaly4') (?) —my "wombome" (relationship of two people who have had connection with the same man or woman).
hyf'haru (F) —woman.
ne'kari —sweetheart.
aha'pitaha' (?).
ne'kobo —my body.
ne'niqi (F) —my heart.
ba'ka —thy eyes.
aki'buri —my hair.
ni'giri —my nose.
nin'ma —my mouth.
warikae —our ears.
turakae —her belly.
laka'bo (laka'bo) —his hand.
pu'guti —thy foot.
liqi'bo —his face.
na'roka —my genitalia (female).
hrd'ka (hud'ka) —thy glans penis.
ain'kui —genitalia (male).
pa'la-roka' —thy anus.
way'ku (C) —loin cloth.
mad'uk (mad'uk) (C) —permanent shelter, the "boucoya" of (Cayenne).
akae —pot.
ku'mari (ku'mari) —calabash for carrying water (petole: bouri).
ta'ka —half calabash for cooking.
ka'ki kulle' —half calabash for drinking, etc. ("wari").
pagu'ra —Carib toilet basket.
kaiwari —Carib shoulder carry-all.
ta'ka —Carib kitchen basket.
aqu'kurak' —knife, cutlass.
fal'karu —fishing line.
a'kuni (M) —dugout canoe.
kuria'la (F) —dugout canoe.
maiaka' —Carib table.
malaqi' —manava squeezer; "couleuvre."
mal'ruwa —kind of clay or soft rock: "bull."
maan'ka —honey.
na'ki —victuals.
nd'ki —eating.
kd'ki —"cassiri": grated manioc, sweetened and boiled.
kaan-kaan —manava bread.
ka'kyo —arrowroot.
kaka'ka —"fig" banana.
kari'ru —banana.
kala'kali (C) —kind of liana used in thatching.
kwai, (kwali) —"tannia", variety (Colocasia esculenta).
kwdi'i (F) —manioc, variety (*Manihot utilissima*).
ki'uru (M) —manioc, variety (*Manihot sp.*).
kapia'o (C) —var. yam (*Dioscorea sp.*).
kumi —var. of "tannia" or "chou caraibe."
mi'ki —red variety sweet potato (*Ipomoea sp.*).
pi'ki —yam, variety (*Dioscorea sp.*).

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wa'bukuré (wa'burukú) —water yam (*Dioscorea* sp.).
wawi'amá —squash.
yuri —tobacco.
yuʻla(gi)u (C) —kind of palm (*Syagrus amara?*).
yuya (C) —fine, hair-like prickles on cane, etc.
ʻawiʻi (C) —kind of tree (? see word for manioc).
hwihwé —tree (generic).

The following, given to me as Carib, are obvious corruptions and [177] show how Carib absorbed foreign words:

gu'ulére' —cauldron (French, chaudière).
pain'to —dishes (French, plats).
bakayu' —cow, ox (Spanish, vaca).
kalayu' —horse (Spanish, caballo).

On the other hand, many words of current Creole patois appear to be of native origin. Such are (French orthography) canari, cali, calouya, coumou, hébichet, manni, toumalin, djolà, djokoma, samboi, bachoua (a fish pot of woven liana). The meanings of these terms are made clear in the other sections.

Before going on with the Carib names of fish, reptiles, birds, animals, etc., it may be as well to look at the all-too-few other parts of speech I have been able to collect as separate words. They consist of numerals, qualifying adjectives, and verbs, together with their derivatives:

a'bá —one.
bin'ua —two.
ó'rua —three.
bisua'buri —four.[1]
gwaabá'bú —good (as to sweet) it is.
hopo'bú —good (as to fitness) it is.
bú'matí —sweet, it is.
yetimuni —injury, hurt, pain.
yubú'muni —evil, badness.
kyá'mubya-dú, (kyá'mubya-dú) —it is cold.
bú'bubu-dú (P) —he is dead.
dubuú-dú (M) —he is dead.
dubúbu-dú —he is drowned, hammered.
gu'ru —hard, green, not yet ripe.
mu'ru —soft, overripe.
ku'kuru —unpeeled or turgid gluss.
mu'nigíra tíru' —false, lying thou art (*in*, negative; *a'nigí*, heart; *tíru*, thou hast).
mubuka —fearingstrong (perhaps—"splendour" from *abu*, head).
bá'kuiyá' —gluttonous, voracious.
su'kuiyá' —(see above, but looks like adjectival form. Breton gives *nuin'kuiyá'*—"engaud").
(i)iwa'rua —to get drunk (*liwa*).
(a)ba'rusa —to call father, husband, master.
dú'rukua —to pierce, spill, capsicle.
(a)bá'nukiba —to dance.

[1] The island Caribs seem never to have got further than this. Five was expressed as "all one hand," six as two hands, etc.

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●[12 pépéke'	—? (perhaps related to pepeike, wind).
wéikaé'	—abduction, rape, taking of woman by force.
á'oli, (kaé)'	—dog.
aro'kaoi	—agouti [1] (Dasyprocta agouti).
bol'bóko	—pig (from Span. "puerco"?).
kawaló', (kawaka'ni)	—rat.
mákiko'ri	—bat.
mápo	—ant.
pí'kaoi	—agouti [1]
ka'kwé	—snake (generic. C only in "kálwé-oungre").
wanagwé	—snake "tête-chien"; Dumbleton constrictor.
te'po ka'a	—"serpent"; Dumbleton's edible toad.
wayo'maka	—iguana lizard.
kína'ori	—skink [1] lizard.
kuru'ma	—small [1] lizard.
kuku'maru	—mabouya [1] lizard.
warai'ka	—white land crab.
ka'kiko, (ka'kiori)	—akiqua [1] land crab.
yuli'a	—"soft-shell" akiqua.
o'ka	—fish (generic).
kaa'maa	—(local name) lit. cow: a fish.
kapo'kali	—(local name) vive: a fish.
kápi	—(local name) la queue: a fish.
i'pako	—river crayfish.
kaka'ro	—turtle (edible).
kawaé	—(local name) grand'gueule: sp. snapper.
ma'kori	—(local name) chalouye: sp. dolphin.
maka'ka	—(local name) tête-ard: sp. "flathead."
ma'wali (C)	—(local name) tête-a'ne, small vive.
pí'kali	—(local name) négre: dark-colored fish.
o'kka kaka'ka	—(local name) cavalier noire: sp. snapper.
walia'maro	—shark.
waiwai'maa	—(local name) vivanneau: sp. snapper.
wa'po (C)	—large variety river crayfish.
waiki'ki	—(local name) females, lemale.
ka'yo	—domestic hen.
ka'kali	—screech owl, "chat-huant."
ka'ngaka's (C)	—small songbird.
gágá (C)	—small grosbeak.
gágáro (C)	—Dumbleton parrot: Chrysotis augusta.
waka'kaa	—wood pigeon or ramier.
yo'karo	—(local name) crabier: sp. heron.

It might be worth while noting here some of the commoner Creole names of obviously Indian origin (French orthography).

Animals: Manicou, agouti.

Crustaceans, fish, reptiles: Tocoussou, akiqua, agaya (female), balaou, crevisse, mamlouche, tillet, vaillous, lambeau (fish).

Birds, insects: Pipiri, ouyali, tio-tio (Indian: Imani; sp. fly).

Trees, plants: Acomposé, acoma, mahbibra, mancelier, oroballi, ouroupoumou, gaiac (Calophyllum calaba), bois-rouman (Jacquinia armata), l'arali (Chaira sp.), yenga, yellow-leaf (Sipagrus amara sp?), bois-canot (Cor. orth. laevi?), calabash.

[1] Given in Roman gave "oui" as the Indians' name for the native cane dog, now extinct.

[2] Words or creolized names to be characteristic of native origin.

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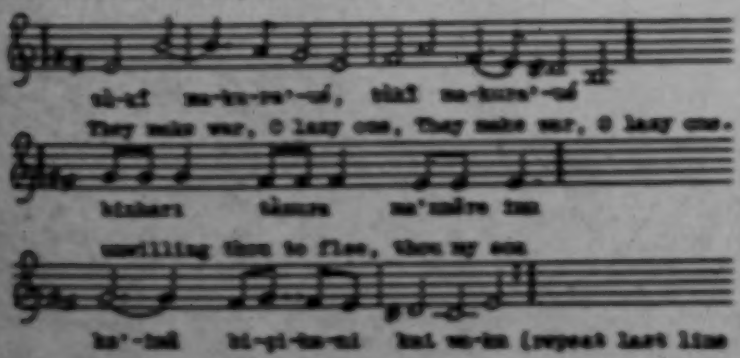
Moreover, such Creole patois expressions as "titac", tota, lélé (a swizzle stick), lolo (penis) probably derive from Carib: titaka, a little bit; totaka, to support; élé, energy; loloti, swollen.

Place names, principally those of rivers, were and to some extent are still Indian. Many, however, have been lost through constant rebaptism by new owners, while others, though still remembered by some, are no longer in general use. Thus Cocoanary has become Castle Bruce, Hiroula is now Birnheim, Cachacrou is Scott's Head, Mamelabou is Hodge's. The following are taken from the Carib quarter and its immediate surroundings.

[illegible]'ti (Abiti, Ginette, French River).	t'ululuka'ti (Crébiche, Crayfish River).
aka'yu (Ma' Jenny, Raymond River).	batalgi (Batalka: place and river).
g'ualiku (name: a ridge).	wal'ulika (a ravine).
kapare'wa (Ravine Gros Roobert).	kun'ula (Big River: a dry ravine).
kuf'ruk (Malo River).	wa'raka (Atkinson).
kwa'nara (Ravine Vieille).	pe'gwua (name: river).
wa'glana (name: a ravine).	glindri (name: river).
kapa'rakwa (Rivière Gaulette).	mantilpo (name: river).
"mokoro" (old negro settlement).	mahiliw'ti (Clyde River).
mily'kin (Ste. Marie).	ta'lamá (Tweed River).
ay'wagí' (name: a ravine).	

The following little song was taught me by Chief Jolly John, who learned it from Tarzan, now dead: 533 531


ti-ti ma-ka-ra'-ni, tini ma-kara'-ni
They make war, O lazy one, they make war, O lazy one.
kinkari tkuara ma'mairo ima
unwilling them to flee, them my son
ka'-imi ki-gi-ka-ni kai ma-ka (repeat last line
(move slowly, softly and with more emphasis)
Come, take the lead. Come, make up.

Bar lines divide into groups, not into bars. The meaning of the words was not known to the singer and I cannot vouch for my own translation.

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(1) mai'kalka (mai'kalka) karigka'ra, yuru-ka'a kata karrika?
(Greeting, Carib, Carib, cannot you? enough
(Can you talk?)

(2) Ka'ja karrika (kaja or kata karrika)
"Can" enough (Carib).

152 (2) ti'wâ'a (tâshâ'ba) nia'ba a'la
to wash I go fish

(4) ka'lauâ wallu'ka a'kao-wa alla'gua
let us go away bathe (us) squabish

(5) ka'yu ba'ka (ka'yu ba'ka) a'kao ba'ka ab.
Go (thou) away (go you) go bathe

(6) ka'lauâ wa-ta'buna kauâ
let us go-to-draw water

(7) taba' ba'ka kauâ
draw go water

(8) un' ni-ta'ba na'ya
here is shaking my arm (I'm going to shake)

(9) on ay a'lakua, on ay-nauti
here thy drink, here thy food

(10) a'la kua'kuja
I want a drink

(11) on kai nauâli'
here let us suppose it ("here's here")

(12) ruba' yeia takâbâ ta'bâ ni-a'lakua
give here some water me to drink

(13) naâya'ba-ka'lina
thirst I have

(14) ni-kauâ-ka'lina
me hunger I have

(15) ruba'yia tua-ba na'lli na'ni nuruka'a
give here plenty food to me (for) my belly

(16) ruhai jaaipaâ yuunna la'ti kaunala'kha
bring go thou from thou a share to smoke (give me some of your tobacco to smoke)

(17) ta'tiba-ali arkya'ba ri'cha
lightning tonight come up (stands out, flashes, streaks)

(18) tiâ'ba kaurkaua'ti kainuka'ali nuruka
I smoke (inhale) (for having) (that) my belly

(19) nu'kara k-ki'lauji ka'ji kaunakara (kaana-, kaunakala)
negro stinks the grandparent (the last word was also said to mean a ghost or spirit)

(20) (kiau' kiaua'kauti ka'ja ki'ua
ghosts fear ("kaya" is amongst English "vampire", while "kiau" is Spanish "ghost")

(21) pua ckapuiaua (panaia) kâkâtâ': kai'-ka kakuatâ'
do not bother me not (impossible) go on the beach
kakuatâ' nua'kauti na'ni
gather shellfishes to eat (shellfishes-kind of rock-shellfish)

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(32) bal'-bal, ba'ya, bal'-bal: lakrak' nu'bu (lubu)
go away, tata, go away; I do my wife my husband
(or) or insult my husband

nulu'yakā' (lulayaka) ā'ku numā'ti la'ku (lumā'ti la'ku)
I not jealous or (them) eyes

la'tibu
them look (are of use)[1]

(33) nubuā'ru
she is no longer a virgin[2]

(34) ennuba'ti, banu'bi
good is she ?

(35) Ba'ya ri banu-banu
Go make manure bread

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[1] This phrase seems rather obscure, though my informants were agreed as to the general meaning of the whole: that the woman was not jealous of her husband as the rule was jealous. I am very uncertain of the meanings of the two words "i-nāmā'ti" and "numā'ti"—or "lumā'ti". The first seems to have the same stem as Breton's ne-nāti, I wish; the latter to correspond with his enoudi and enoudi, mānti qui, nous qui, etc. On the other hand, the alternative—some of my informants gave the word as "lumā'ti"—looks suspiciously like "number-to-her."

[2] This looks like Breton's nounoubaïrouma, given as "engrosir"; but see above.

9: Ober N-5 (1876-1878) 1895
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mocks, etc. They made fire by the friction of two sticks, and torches of candle-wood."

The author quoted above appends an extensive vocabulary to his work, from which I extract a few words which, he says, were common between the Caribs and the Apalaches, of Florida: as, Cakonees, or little curiosities; Bouttou, a club of weighty wood; Taumali, "a certain piquancy or deliciousness of taste"; Etouton, an enemy; Allouba, a bow; Allouani, arrows; Taouaba, a great pond; Mabouya, an evil spirit; Akambouyi, the soul of man, etc.

This much from the ancient writer, to explain the status of the Carib, as a savage, or semi-savage. Let us now turn to modern descriptions of him, as found in Guiana, his present home. As to the tribal name, a recent writer says: "The Arawak name for Carib Place, or home, is *Caribisi;* the Caribs style themselves, *Carinya.*"[1] Humboldt says: "They call themselves Carina, Calina, Callingo. The Calibis (of Cayenne) and others, who originally inhabited the plains between the mountains of Caripe (Caribe) and the village of Maturin, also the native tribes of Trinidad, and the village of Cumana, are all tribes of the great Caribbee nation." Davies, the author previously quoted, says: "The ancient and natural inhabitants of the Caribbees, are those who have been called by some authors Cannibals, Anthropophagi, or Eaters of Men; but most of others who have written of them commonly called them Caribbians, or Caribs; but their primitive and originary name, and that which is pronounced with the most gravity, is Carlibes. They believe themselves descended from the Caribitas, or Calibis, of the Main, in that country or province which is commonly called Guayana. The Caribs of St. Vincent said (1600) that their first insular ancestors were rebels against the Arrowaks, and retreated to the Caribbees (then inhabited by scattered Arrowaks), first to Tobago, and thence going still farther northward."

[1] "Among the Indians of Guiana," by E. F. im Thurn. London, 1883.

000 Spirit. The missionaries exhausted themselves in vain in the 17th
797 century in trying to inculcate in them the principles of Christianity and several were massacred on the island of St. Vincent, so that by the beginning of the 18th century they had given up converting them. The Caribs sometimes let themselves be baptized because for them it was an occasion for celebration and drinking, in addition to which the governors or the principal inhabitants of the French islands took pleasure in serving as their godparents and showered them with gifts; but hardly had they reached home then they forgot all the instruction they had received. "The reason for the small success of the missionaries in the conversion of the Caribs," says Father Duterte, "is the unfortunate impression which the life of the Christians had made on them, strewn with cruelty and exhibiting habits more barbaric than
771 those of the islanders." Today the remaining Caribs are Catholics, like most of the blacks of Dominica and their chief has even placed a portrait of the Pope in a conspicuous place in his house. French
[793] priests serve as their pastors and there existed at Salybia, the principal
[346] settlement of the territory, a little church which was blown down by a cyclone and which they are engaged in /143/ rebuilding. Next to it is the only school in the region, attended by young Caribs and young mestizos of both sexes.

191 The Caribs of Dominica are truly polyglot; they speak the French patois with the blacks, which is the same in this island as in Guadeloupe and Martinique; they know a few English words which they use in their relations with officials or various merchants; finally, among themselves, they still make use of a certain number of words of their ancestral language, a language which includes, as we have already seen, two idioms, one spoken by the men, the other by the women.

115 One of my colleagues, born and long since settled in Dominica but of a French family and having pursued his medical studies in France, Dr. Daniel Thally was kind enough to give me a Carib vocabulary which he collected in 1916 and 1918 from an old native woman, the daughter of Jean-Baptiste and Marie-Louise, named
197 Rosalie who was between 75 and 80 years old. This vocabulary,
192 carefully studied on my return to France with the learned collaboration of Dr. Rivet, allowed us to recover from it some words of the Carib vocabulary of the Antilles as it was in the time of /145/ Father Breton (1), who has left us a grammar and a dictionary of this

10:Neveu-Lemaire--13b K-8(ca. 1920) 1921 ST13 Callinago ST13
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Neveu-Lemaire

Carib vocabulary collected in Dominica

French words (English Equivalents)		Vocabulary of Dominica	Vocabulary of the Caribs of the Antilles, according to Father Breton	Galibi & Arawak
Soleil	Sun	wayóu	huéyu	vefou
Lune	Moon	nounou	nonum	nouna, nouno
Étoile	Star	youra		
Eau, rivière	Water, river	tína	tône	touna
Pluie	Rain	hóuya	oya F	hóuya ••
Vent	Wind	kabáli	calabáli	kabáli ••
Père	Father	noukousóuli	noucóuchili F	
Femme	Woman	hinaróu	inharou F	hinarou ••
Enfant	Child	birahóu	iráheu F	
Caraïbe	Carib	kaifuna		
Nègre	Negro	mikerou	méguerou F	
Chien	Dog	aouli	áuli	
Chat	Cat	mésou	mechou	mecho
Cochon	Pig	bourouho	boüirocou	bouiroucou
Chèvre	Goat	kabára •	cabrara	

10:Neveu-Lemaire--13c K-5 (ca. 1920) 1921 ST13 Collinsgp ST13

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Carib vocabulary collected in Dominica (cont'd)

French words (English Equivalents)		Vocabulary of Dominica	Vocabulary of the Caribs of the Antilles, according to Father Breton	Galibi & Arawak
Lapin ?	Rabbit?	maseráka	máuchalaca	
Agouti	Agouti	pícari	pícouli	
Poule	Hen	cayaióu	cáyou F	
Pigeon ramier	Wood Pigeon	bakoukrà	oõacoùcoõa	
Lézard	Lizard	nourouma		
"	"	hináwe		
"(diable)	" (Devil)	mafuiyá		
Tortue marine	Marine tortoise	katarõu	catàllou	katarõu
Serpent	Snake	héwe	hébuc	
Crapaud	Toad	ô a	hoõa	
Poisson	Fish	útu	aotu	oto
Requin	Shark	walbárãwĩ		
Ecrevisse	Crayfish	iõurou		
Petit crabe des jardins	Paud crab		iõurourou	
Crabe	Crab	waráiba	oõaléiba F	
"	"	batchou		

M2
N7

Carib vocabulary collected in Dominica (cont'd)

French words (English Equivalents)		Vocabular of Dominica	Vocabulary of the Caribs of the Antilles, according to Father Breton	Galibi & Arawak
Chou caraïbe	Carib cabbage	kwai	oüâben F	
Igname	Yam	kpliáoü		
Patate douce	Sweet potato	mimbi	mabi	ma;i
Banane	Banana	bairou	baloulou	
-	-	bkoßkoü		baccóucou
Canot	Canoe	koinoü	canáoa	canoa, canaoua
Massue	Club	bóttou	ihóutoulou	bóutou
Sabre, épée	Saber, sword	sobkrl	echoubkra	soubara
Danse	Dance	bnáha	abinacáni	
Mort	Death	ilhálí		
Il est mort	He is dead		hilhali F	
Bonjour	Hello	mmbuika	mabollica	
Tu es venu	You have come			mabout
Allons-nous-en	Let's go away	kama waibouka		
Allons vite	Let's hurry	camanco		
Allons	Let's go			kama
J'ai froid	I am cold	ham héli		

16 Nevers-Lemaire-13dK-5 (ca. 1920) 1921 ST13 Collins ep ST13

10:Nevis-Lemaire-d3eK-5 (ca. 1920) 1921 ST13 Collinage ST13

Carib vocabulary collected in Dominica (cont'd)

French words (English Equivalents)		Vocabulary of Dominica	Vocabulary of the Caribs of the Antilles, according to Father Breton	Galibi & Arawak
Froid	Cold		a moyénli	
Terme injurieux	Insult	imànlilàôu		

F indicates the words belong to the feminine language, probably of Arawak origin.
• from cabra, a word of Spanish origin.
** these words are Arawak and not Galibi.

[13]

1. Breton (R.), Dictionaire caraibe-français /Carib-French Dictionary/. Auxerre, 1665, reprinted by J. Platzmann, Leipzig, 1892. Dictionaire français-caraibe /French-Carib Dictionary/. Auxerre, 1666, reprinted by J. Platzmann, Leipzig, 1900.

192 197 language, dating from 1665 and 1666, and in addition, Arawak and Galibi words, as one can see in glancing at the chart. (p. 14a)

This vocabulary is interesting from several points of view. First of all, it shows us the actual existence of a duality of language in the Carib population of the Antilles, a duality which continues in our time; indeed, we find several words from the feminine language of Arawak origin, the word binarǒu, for instance, which means woman, as well as the words kabáli which signifies wind and hóuya which means rain. Beside these terms of incontestable Arawak origin, there exist a certain number, mentioned in the Dictionary of Father Breton as being part of the language of the women, and which probably have the same origin; such words as: noukousǒuli or noucǒuchili, father; birahǒu or nirahou, child; mǐkerou or meguerou, negro; cayaiǒu or cǎyou, hen; warǎiba or odaléiba (1), crab; kwai or odǎbou,

[14]

1. In the Carib language, the following consonants are frequently used one for the other: l and r
p, c and g
d and t
g and s
and thus certain writers have made caraïbe or caribe derive from Galibi, via such words as caribo, calibo, galibo.

Carib cabbage; ilahali or hilaali, death.

The present-day vocabulary of Dominica shows us, furthermore, that there existed in the Carib language of the Antilles many words of Galibi origin; thus wayǒu, sun, is vefou in Galibi; nounou, moon, is nouna or nouno; tǔna or touna means water in both languages; ǔtu, fish, is oto in Galibi; katarǒu denotes the marine tortoise in one of the other language; bourouhǒ, pig, is bouiróucou in Galibi; mésou, cat, is mecho; bǎkolikoli or baccoucou means banana in Carib as in

192 Galibi; mämbi, sweet potato, is mapi in Galibi; bóuton, club, and
197 soubara, sword are the same in the two languages; koūnoū, canoe, is canoa or canaoua in Galibi. The family links between the Galibis of the Guianas and the Carib of the Antilles are thus evident.

144 /146/ What will become of the few surviving Caribs of Dominica in the more or less distant future? The race seems to me fated to disappear shortly, not by extinction, for there is no reason why this prolific population, living in the same environment in which it has lived for centuries, should die out one day, but by intermarriage with the black race, which is much more numerous than itself and which constantly gains ground. Today already, of the five hundred individuals who inhabit the Carib territory, there are no more than a hundred of pure stock, and soon, as has been seen on the island of St. Vincent, one will probably find only mestizos or black Caribs and the last representatives of this race proud and indomitable, enterprising and warlike, sturdy though indolent, sometimes cruel, but always hospitable, will have disappeared forever from the surface of the globe.

M. Neveu-Lemaire

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
ST13 Callinago ST13

is still told by the modern Dominica Carib, who also remember the terms *hoüin ran, ninti mann*, although they no longer speak the language; while the Black Carib employ *uéu ran, bóti mann*, both masculine. Breton's qualification ("when it means the moon") refers to the fact that this same Carib word was also employed for the *earth*. Other *fauna* cited by Rouse, such as boyez (shaman) and *Semetre* (species of heron and name of constellation), are more misleading than Breton's *bóye* and *chemáricra*, since the sounds *z* and *v* did not occur in the Island Carib of the seventeenth century and later, any more than in its modern offshoot. This may seem like carping, but it is unscholarly to cite Carib forms without considering the only author among the early sources who spoke the language.[45]

Although no ball-courts have been reported from the Lesser Antilles, and while it is probably correct in one sense that "The *Carib* lacked the ball-game," as Steward says in his introduction,[46] yet it is evident that *some* ball-game was played by them in Breton's time, since he lists in his dictionary "Atalouacayem *jouer à la paume, la renuoyer*"; and, in the French-Carib section "*paume, balle, ou balon à jouer tibouele; allons jouer à la paume* caimam ouilloueyacoua."

One misses at the outset of the part devoted to the West Indies a good map, such as is given for practically every other region treated throughout the *Handbook*. The sketch-map on page 498 does not distinguish the islands of the Lesser Antilles by name, nor show their relative positions and sizes with even approximate accuracy: what I suppose to be Guadeloupe (600 square miles) appears to be about one third the size of what is certainly meant for Tobago (114 square miles).

The above criticisms are in no wise intended to be derogatory of the author of this part of the volume, or of his work; but are meant to point out the dangers of too great an eclecticism, or of too hasty an evaluation of such chroniclers as those who wrote in early colonial times. It is only natural that sources on the Carib have, as Rouse admits, relatively more ethnographic material than those, more numerous, on the Arawak Taino. Linguistically the former group had more, and racially and culturally *a* much, in common with the Arawak Igneri than/or as with the continental Carib tribes; yet one sometimes cannot avoid the feeling, in reading through this part of the volume, that Rouse—perhaps unconsciously—has selected and presented his data *ad majorem Arauke gloriam*.

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45 *See my Notes on Star-Lore*. Other confusing spellings copied by Rouse are achimate, ichiri, comiere, as compared with Breton's achimane, ichiri, comiere. In other than Carib words, he gives both "genipa fruit" and "jenipa nut," both presumably referring to *Genipa americana*; and "Lambys" for lambi (*lobi*), the French name for the conch.

46 *Handbook*, p. 26.

13: Hodge & Taylor N. E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

a man's speech » was then — and in all probability long had been — a secondary language learnt in late childhood for reasons of prestige. According to Island-Carib tradition, which there seems to be no cause for doubting, the explanation of this peculiar situation is that these islands had been conquered before the coming of the Europeans by a band of Galibi (*Kalina* or *True Carib*) warriors from Guiana, who had taken the female inhabitants to wife and killed all the men.

What we may call the national language of the historical Island-Carib is no more Cariban than is English, since the Norman Conquest, a Romance language. But although it is, like them, Arawakan, Kariphúna (Island-Carib) appears to have emerged from the parent tongue centuries before Taino, Lokono, Goajiro and Paraujano; and was therefore most probably brought to these islands by a separate migration. From radiocarbon dating it now appears, on the other hand, that the type of pottery known as « White-on-red », and found only in the valley of the Orinoco and in the Antilles, was being made on the lower Orinoco as early as 800 B. C., while a pre-ceramic culture flourished at the same period on the neighbouring island of Trinidad. At that time, the ancestors of the above-named Arawakan-speaking tribes formed, in all likelihood, a united people speaking one language; and we may conjecture that the first split came about through a partial migration that took horticulture and pottery to Trinidad. The geographical situation in historical times of the Taino, Island-Carib, and Lokono further suggests that the first migrants spread in the course of time to other, more northerly islands, where they were subsequently cut off from their fellow tribesmen in Trinidad by a second migration from the mainland — that of the Island-Caribs' Arawakan-speaking ancestors, who had not participated in the first migration.

It may be fairly assumed that horticulture and pottery were already known to an Arawakan-speaking tribe ancestral to all those we have mentioned so far; but it would not be surprising had the later migrants, whether friendly or hostile to the earlier settlers, introduced innovations that were welcome to the latter dwellers on the periphery of a culture-area. And indeed Taino and Island-Carib have in common several culture words that, whatever their ancestry, are not shared by Lokono or Goajiro, whose basic vocabularies apparently are closer to that of Taino than to that of the Island-Carib. So, for example, the basketry « sifter » is called *hibis* in Taino and *hibiset* in Island-Carib, but *manaka* (borrowed from a Cariban language) in Lokono; the little tree, *Bixa orellana*, whose fruit provided a red paint, is called *bike* in Taino and *bixet* in Island-Carib, but *arabali* in Lokono; *Genipa americana*, whose fruit provided a black stain, is called *hena* in Taino and *anna* in Island-Carib, but *kana* in Lokono; and the pineapple is called *ddiana* in both Taino and Island-Carib, but *anna* in Lokono. Institutional friendship, known both to the Taino and to the Island-Carib (but not to the Lokono), was designated as *natiba* (by the former) or *natibá* (by the latter) « our friend », *dattiba* (by the former) or *nátibá* (by the latter) « my friend ». This last example also suggests a closer genetic relationship between Taino and Lokono, which also has the prefix *d(a)-* as marker of first person singular; compare Lokono *dabitsida* « my clan » with Island-Carib *nábiawa* « my (fishing-) line », string (for bow), etc.

Also the Carib invaders of the Lesser Antilles undoubtedly brought with them changes and innovations, many of which are reflected in the vocabulary. To judge from the latter, these mainly concerned affinal (as opposed to con-

13: Hodge & Taylor N. E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

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exogamous) kinship, religion and ritual, warfare and navigation, basketry and house construction. Among the plants that may have been introduced by them we may mention a fish-drug (*Clibadium sylvestre*); an herb for curing arrow wounds; the arrow reed (*Gynerium saccharoides*); a marantaceous plant, *Ischnosiphon arouma*, that is still the principal material employed for basketry, and the cashew tree (*Anacardium occidentale*). It is worth noticing that a considerable number of the cultural words that were borrowed presumably from Cariban Kalina are also found in Tupi.

The most recent invaders of these islands, the Europeans themselves, introduced a large number of new things and concepts, together with the words that, for the most part, served the Island-Caribs as models for naming them. Breton's dictionary (7) contains some six dozen of these loan-words, of which the great majority comes from Spanish (although thereafter borrowing was mainly from French). These include the names of various weapons, tools, clothes and ornaments; of bread, wine, salt and sugar; of carpenter, Christian, coast-guard, king, priest; of Englishman, Flemming, Frenchman, Irishman, Negro and Spaniard; those for the pig, cow, cat, rat, horse, donkey, goat, sheep and hen; those for the coconut, pine (presumably wood rather than tree), and sugar-cane; and those for church, prayer and baptism.

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What may be called the political history of the Island Carib in early colonial times has been summarized in another work (58, Introduction), from which the following citations are taken: "... by 1493 they had halted in their advance, and, except for sporadic feuds of an almost personal character, had established friendly relations with their neighbours to the northwest, the Taino of Puerto Rico, alongside of whom they fought as allies in the unavailing attempt of its inhabitants to defend that island from the Spaniards... Little is heard of the Caribbee islands from the time of the Taínos' defeat, until, in 1623-1633, St. Kitts (Saint Christopher's) was 'rediscovered' for the French by d'Esnambuc, and for the English by Warner. But although they remained unconquered throughout these years, they did not escape ravage. In 1515 the Carib of Guadeloupe... repulsed a Spanish attack under Ponce de Leon; and defeated, in 1520, an attempted settlement of their island led by Diego Colon, governor of Hispaniola. Landonnière was told by the Carib of Dominica... — where he touched in 1564, and peaceably traded hatchets, knives, and beads for plantains, pineapples, and sweet potatoes — that they greatly feared the Spaniards, who came thither and 'cut off their stones'. And from this same group Father Raymond Breton heard similar complaints some seventy-five years later".

Guerrilla warfare between the Europeans and the Indians, with peaceful interminglings, continued throughout the seventeenth century, as one island after another fell to the Dutch, English, or French; until, in 1660, these last two powers signed a treaty guaranteeing the "perpetual possession" of Dominica and St. Vincent to the Island Carib, who on their side, undertook to cease raiding the European settlements on the other islands (this agreement was reaffirmed in 1748 in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle). Nevertheless, the conflict continued; and by the turn of the century the Indians had been reduced, according to la Borde, to some four thousand souls divided between the two islands still remaining to them. The end came in 1763, when England, at the treaty of Paris, formally annexed both Dominica and St. Vincent. However, the Indians, though henceforth confined to the more inaccessible